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THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE,
AND UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.

VOL. I.

OCTOBER, 1846.

No. X.

ANTI-REPUBLICAN TENDENCIES OF WAR.

BY REV. RUFUS W. CLARKE.

In exact proportion as the war is cultivated in our land, in the same degree will our free institutions be in danger of being destroyed. The direct tendency of war is to transfer the power from the many to the few—to influence the spirit of ambition in those who are successful on the field, and to check the progress of all those benevolent and philanthropic enterprises, the aim of which is to give stability to our civil and religious interests. When war flourishes every other cause must of necessity suffer. This monster must be fed at the expense of every other interest—at the expense of internal improvements—of commercial enterprise—of domestic industry, and of those great principles of justice, virtue and humanity, which are the safeguard of a republic. If millions of dollars and thousands of men are asked for, to carry forward schemes of hostility, the request must be granted—granted, though, in the case of many who vote for the measure, conscience is violated and a sense of duty overawed by popular feeling. But on the other hand, if the people ask for the means for improving our rivers and harbors, and thus contributing to the national prosperity and wealth, or if they ask for money to meet the claims of those citizens whose rights have been disregarded, the answer they receive is, no. Constitutional scruples, are alledged as an excuse for withholding the funds, and the discretionary power designed as a check upon abuse and corruption, is itself made the instrument of individual aggrandizement, and employed to turn all the resources of the nation into the channel of war. Who then that looks at the history of our government for the last six months can fail to discern the tendency of the war spirit to deprive the people of their rights, and transfer the power of the nation from the many to the few.

But this same tendency we see still more distinctly in the army, where instead of freedom we find the most absolute despotism. It is true that the very ends for which an army is formed require the most perfect discipline and complete subordination, but the cause of this does not affect our argument so long as the fact is before us. The will of the chief officer, whether from necessity or otherwise, is the will of the soldiers. They must march or rest, eat or sleep, drill or fight, in short, live or die, according as he shall determine. When ordered to face death, however unprepared, or unwilling, they must obey. All virtues are here merged in the principle of carnage. Humanity, religion, conscience and the fear of God are absolute hindrances in the work before the soldier. He is taught that to kill and to be ready to be killed, are the fulfilling of the whole law. Although he has stamped upon him the divine image, and has the salvation of an imperishable soul to work out, and must stand with us all before Heaven's tribunal to render in his account, yet he is constituted a mere machine to be acted upon by the will of another. Now, does this system make men better citizens, better freemen, better philanthropists, better christians? Does it yield any of the elements that lie at the basis of a firm and prosperous republic? Did our last war with England strengthen republicanism on this continent? And is the war with Mexico doing it? These are questions which the people of this land ought to consider. We have received from our fathers a rich inheritance, and we are under the highest obligations to transmit it unimpaired to posterity. And peace with all the world is pre-eminently the policy of this nation. On this point I am glad to adduce the testimony of one of our statesmen, whose abilities no one will call in question. I refer to Mr. Calhoun. He says at the close of one of his late speeches, "I am against war because peace—peace, is pre-eminently our policy. There are nations in the world who may resort to war for the settlement of their differences, and still grow great; but that nation is not ours. Providence has cast our happy inheritance where its frontier extends for twenty-three degrees of latitude along the Atlantic coast. It has given us a land which, in natural advantages, is perhaps unequalled by any other. Abundant in all resources; excellent in climate; fertile and exuberant in soil, capable of sustaining, in the plentiful enjoyment of all the necessities of life, a population of two hundred millions of souls. Our great mission as a people is to occupy this vast domain—there to fulfill the primeval command to increase and multiply, and replenish the land with an industrious and thriving population: to level the forests, and let upon the solitude the light of day; to clear the swamps and morasses, and redeem them to the

plow and the sickle ; to spread over hill and dale the echoes of human labor and happiness ; to fill the land with cities, and towns, and villages ; to unite its opposite extremities by turnpikes and railroads ; to scoop out canals for the transmission of its products, and open rivers for its internal trade. War can only impede the fulfilment of this high mission to heaven ; it absorbs the wealth, and diverts the energy which might be so much better devoted to the improvement of our country. All we want is peace—established peace ; and then time, under the guidance of a wise and cautious policy, will soon effect for us all the rest.

“ Yes time—ever-laboring time—will effect every thing for us. Our population is now increasing at the annal average of six hundred thousand. Let the next twenty-five years elapse, and our increase will have reached a million a year, and at the end of that period we shall count a population of forty-five millions. Before that day the nation will have spread from ocean to ocean. The coasts of the Pacific will then be as densely populated and as thickly settled with villages and towns as the coast of the Atlantic is now. In another generation we shall have reached eighty millions of souls, and, if we can preserve peace, who shall set bounds to our prosperity or our success ? With one foot planted on the Pacific, we shall occupy a position between the two old continents of the world—a position eminently calculated to secure to us the commerce and the influence of both. If we abide by the councils of common sense—if we succeed in preserving our constitutional liberty, we shall then exhibit a spectacle such as the world never saw. I know that this one great mission is encompassed with difficulties ; but such is the inherent energy of our political system, and such its expansive capability, that it may be made to govern the widest space. If by war he become great, we cannot be free ; if we will be both great and free, our policy is peace.”

INTERNATIONAL FORBEARANCE.

BY J. P. BLANCHARD.

The establishment of despotic thrones over submissive subjects has scarcely been more unfavorable to the liberty and improvement of a people, than the isolated independence and proud irresponsibility of nations have to the rights and safety of the weaker communities of the world. When any great power, by increasing its armaments, or taking any military step, gives alarm to another power, or infringes, in any degree, how-